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GENERAL TAYLOR'S TWO FACES.

Democratic party. National committee 1848

"LOOK UPON THIS PICTURE, AND THEN UPON THIS."

THE fact is not denied, even by his supporters, that General Taylor was nominated by the Whig Convention at Philadelphia solely on the ground of his availability. That he has no political principles, and is perfectly ignorant upon political matters, he humbly acknowledges. Therefore, the advocates of his election can represent him to be any thing they choose, as will best suit the different localities where they hope to gain adherents. But particularly on the subject of slavery and the Wilmot Proviso is he represented with two aspects to his face. At the North, he is represented to be in favor of the Wilmot Proviso, because he has endorsed the article which appeared in the Cincinnati Signal, and avowed himself against the exercise of the veto power. At the South, his advocates contend that he is opposed to the Wilmot Proviso, and will certainly kill it with the veto, if elected, because he is a southern man and a slaveholder, and therefore identified with southern interests.

It is important that this base fraud should be exposed, and the people of the United States informed of the cheat which the leaders of the Whig party in the different sections of the Union would palm upon them. Hence we have deemed it necessary to collect and exhibit in contrast the misrepresentations of the leaders of the Whig party, North and South, touching the position which General Taylor occupies with regard to slavery and the Wilmot Proviso.

GENERAL TAYLOR'S NORTHERN FACE.

"The non-slaveholding States should ask the question: Will the man proposed (whether he live in a free or slave State) use his power for the extension of slavery to territory where it does not now exist? On this point, what is General Taylor's power? No more, I answer, than yours, unless he should exert it through his veto. Will he do this? I answer, according to his pledges he cannot. He has said in his letter to Captain Allison: 'The personal opinions of the individual who may happen to occupy the Executive chair ought not to control the action of Congress upon questions of domestic policy, nor ought his objections to be interposed where questions of constitutional power have been settled by the various departments of the Government, and acquiesced in by the people.'

"If slavery is extended anywhere in territories, it must be done by act of Congress. Is it not a question of 'domestic policy?' Clearly it is. Has it not been settled that Congress has the constitutional power to prohibit slavery? The Missouri compromise, and various other similar exertions of the power of Congress, recognized by every department of the Government, answers this question in the affirmative. And all know that this has been 'acquiesced in by the people.'

"Thus, then, it is clear, that the people, if they wish

GENERAL TAYLOR'S SOUTHERN FACE.

"An eventful, thrilling, and highly dangerous crisis has been forced upon the country by LOCOFOCO DEMAGOGUES, regardless of the sanctity of that Union, which is so dear to every patriotic American citizen. THE WILMOT PROVISIO, AS IT IS CALLED, HAS OPENED A FEARFUL MINE BENEATH THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE SACRED CONSTITUTION. THAT MINE MAY EXPLODE AT THE HOUR OF MIDNIGHT, AND FOREVER DESTROY THE PROUDEST FABRIC OF HUMAN GENIUS AND VIRTUE. To avert this THREATENED EVIL, to close the MIGHTY CHASM that begins to yawn between the free and slave States, is a duty we owe to ourselves, to our posterity, to the memory of the illustrious dead. How shall this be done?"

"We must elect a man for President of the United States who lives in our own sunny South; who is willing to peril all for the Constitution; who loves the South and HER CHERISHED INSTITUTIONS, and yet will do ample justice to the North. And last, though not least, we must, to ensure success, support a candidate for the Presidency, of such an overshadowing popularity, of a reputation that towers as the Himalaya mountains, above all others."

"Such a man is General Zachary Taylor. He LIVES IN THE SOUTH, AND MAKES TWELVE HUNDRED BALES OF COTTON ON THE BANKS OF THE MISSISSIPPI. HIS INTERESTS, HIS FEEL-

[General Taylor's Northern face.]

to restrict slavery to its present limits, have only to elect the proper men to Congress, and their will will be law uncontrolled by that so much abused veto power."—Letter from Thomas Corwin, Senator from Ohio, to J. M. Clements.

"In this great emergency, I have felt strongly opposed to the election of a President with southern principles. As much as ever, more than ever, am I opposed to war and extension of slavery. I abhor the doctrine of availability; but, in this fearful crisis, I must vote for Taylor; and I vote for him, not because he is a warrior, but because, with him, there is the better, if not the only, prospect for continued peace. I vote for him, not because he is the owner of slaves, but because, with him for President, (opposed as he is to the abuse of the veto power,) and with the independent representatives whom, if true to themselves, the people will choose, there is the best and the only chance of restricting slavery and curbing the slave power."!!!—Letter of Daniel P. King, Member of Congress from Massachusetts, to his Constituents.

"Is a northern Whig, desiring to prevent the extension of slavery into any territory which we now possess, or which we may hereafter acquire, I greatly prefer the election of General Taylor to that of General Cass. This restriction, if made at all, must be made by Congress. General Cass has pledged himself to the South, in order to secure their support, to resist any attempt to restrict the extension of slavery. He denies the power of Congress under the Constitution to make any such restriction; and consequently, if he should be elected, he would veto any bill which Congress might pass to effect this important object.

"General Taylor has pledged himself to leave the decision of this question to the legislative department of the Government, and he will not arrest the action of that department by the tyrannical exercise of the veto power. If, then, General Cass shall be elected, while the policy of the Government will be such as to lead to large acquisitions of territory upon our southern borders, no restriction upon the extension of slavery into such territory can be made by Congress, except by a two-thirds vote, overriding a Presidential veto. This cannot be hoped for. The election of General Taylor, with the pledges which he has given to the country, will leave to Congress full power to prevent the extension of this evil."

"The election of General Taylor will introduce a safe American system of policy, calculated to promote the national welfare and happiness. The election of General Cass will build up the one-man power into a towering despotism, overpowering the action of Congress, and defeating the will and wishes of the people. The election of General Taylor will secure to the popular voice, as expressed through its constitutional representatives, that just control over the administration of the Government, which, according to the true theory of our Constitution, it should exercise. The election of General Cass will secure the complete triumph of the most ultra views of slavery propagandists, while Congress will be deprived of all power to check the evil. The election of General Taylor will leave in the hands of the representatives of the people their just and constitutional power to exclude this evil from the territories which

[General Taylor's Southern face.]

INGS ARE ALL WITH US. Throughout the northern and free States he enjoys the unbounded confidence of the entire people. His patriotism, his genius, his undoubted honesty, and entire devotion to the Constitution and the Union, will ever secure him the support of a large majority in every portion of the United States. Who shall say that General Taylor has not been raised up at this eventful crisis, by an all-wise and overruling Providence, to quench the fires of discord, and prevent the downfall of the Republic?

"Where is another man in the slave States, who can receive even a respectable vote at the North? If we elect General Taylor, his genius will enable him to guide our ship through the gathering storm; his honesty, his sterling integrity, will secure to us his best endeavors; his immense popularity will enable him to triumph over all opposition. Then, we ask, in all candor, who will oppose General Taylor?"—*Alabama Whig*.

"We rejoice at the selection, because we feel that under such leaders victory is certain—because we feel that the interests of the country will be protected by him who has declared that his sole aim will be the country's good—because we feel assured that our rights as Southern men may safely be trusted to one, who is himself a Southern man and a shareholder."—*Florida Advertiser*.

GENERAL TAYLOR AND THE WILMOT PROviso. The Matagorda (Texas) Tribune, on the 22d of May, has the following emphatic paragraph with respect to General Taylor and the expected benefits of his election:

"If elected, our institutions—we speak out—slavery, will be under the protection of his eagle eye and his giant arm. Who does not know that that institution is in some shape or other under daily discussion in Congress, and that at this moment the Southern members are ill at ease in consequence of new and fearful movements being made in relation to it? The old Nestor of the South, Mr. Calhoun, warns us that we are approaching a crisis pregnant with danger, and that before long we will have to toe the mark."

"We know that, in this great paramount and LEADING QUESTION of the RIGHTS of the SOUTH, HE [Gen. TAYLOR] IS OF US, HE IS WITH US, AND HE IS FOR US!"—Resolution of a Taylor meeting in Charleston, South Carolina.

"In regard to the conversation had with General Taylor, I have to say, we did not talk on the tariff—we did on the war. He expressed himself IN FAVOR OF THE WAR; HE SAID HE WAS DECIDEDLY IN FAVOR OF PROSECUTING IT VIGOROUSLY, till they should yield an honorable peace; HE WAS FOR INDEMNITY CERTAIN, AND THAT TERRITORIAL; was not wedded to any line particularly, but thought perhaps, as a kind of compromise with the Wilmot proviso men, we had better go up to 32 degrees, making the Rio Grande the western boundary up to that degree; and said THE SOUTH SHOULD NEVER AGREE TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE WILMOT PROviso; although he did not believe there ever would be slavery there, yet if the country was acquired, the citizens should be left free on that subject. HE SAYS ALL MEXICO WILL EVENTUALLY COME

[General Taylor's Northern face.]

belong to the United States."—*Letter of Caleb B. Smith, Member of Congress from Indiana, to his Whig constituents, dated June 30, 1848.*

"Again, it is said General Taylor is in favor of introducing slavery into newly acquired territory. In April, 1847, the editor of the Cincinnati Signal sent to General Taylor an editorial article, in which is the following:

"The American people are about to assume the responsibility of framing the institutions of the Pacific States. We have no fears for the issue, if the arena of debate is the assemblies of the people and their representative halls. *The extension over the continent beyond the Rio Grande of the ordinance of 1787, is an object too high and permanent to be baffled by Presidential vetoes.*"

"The intelligent reader will remember that the ordinance of 1787 referred to, is that by which slavery was forever excluded from the North-western Territory, and that the Wilmot proviso is almost an exact copy. In General Taylor's reply to the letter enclosing the editorial from which the above extract is taken, he uses the following language:

"I trust you will pardon me for thus briefly replying to you, which I do with a high opinion and APPROVAL of the sentiments and views embraced in your editorial."

"Not only has General Taylor uniformly avowed himself a Whig, but he authorized the Louisiana delegation in the Convention to say that he deemed the welfare of our country requires a change of men and measures, in order to arrest the downward tendency of our national affairs."

"Besides the endorsement of his Whig neighbors, many of the most prominent and distinguished Whigs in different portions of the country testify to his devotion to the principles of the Whig party. Hon. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, says:

"General Taylor was opposed to the annexation of Texas.

"Is opposed to any further extension of our territory at present and probably for all time to come.

"That although a slaveholder, he considers slavery an evil, and does not deem it right to extend or increase it.

"That he always deemed the Mexican war impolitic and without justification.

"And that on all other doctrines of the Whig party, his principles are coincident with ours."—*Richmond (Indiana) Palladium, July 4, 1848.*

"We have no fears for the issue, if the arena of the debate is the assemblies of the people and their representative halls. *The extension over the continent beyond the Rio Grande of the ordinance of 1787, is an object too high and permanent to be baffled by Presidential vetoes.* All that we ask of the incumbent of the highest office under the Constitution, is to hold his hand, to bow to the will of the people as promulgated in legislative forms, and restrain the Executive action in its appropriate channels!"

"To this article, setting forth the editor of the Signal's views, General Taylor, on the 18th of May, 1847, responded in his usual frank and concise manner, with the following closing remark:

"I trust you will pardon me for thus briefly replying to you, which I do with a high opinion and DECIDED APPROVAL OF THE SENTI-

[General Taylor's Southern face.]

INTO OUR GOVERNMENT BY DEGREES; THAT IT CANNOT BE AVOIDED. On the subject of politics, he said he was no politician; had been three-fourths of his life in the army; devoted his time and mind to that service, and paid but little attention to anything else."—*Statement from one of the Committee of the Mississippi Legislature appointed to invite General Taylor to visit that State.*

In a letter to the editor of the Tuscaloosa (Alabama) Monitor, General Taylor himself avows that he has endorsed all the remarks of the Cincinnati Signal, to the effect that he would not veto the Wilmot proviso. He says:

"In reply to your remarks concerning a letter which I addressed some time since to the editor of the Cincinnati Signal, I have no hesitation in stating that it was not my intention in that communication to express an opinion either in concurrence with, or in opposition to, any of the views embraced in the editorial article to which it refers. The letter itself, like most other letters of mine on unofficial matters, which have found their way into the newspapers, was not intended for publication, but simply written as a matter of courtesy, in answer to one which I had received from the gentleman in question. * * * It was simply my desire, on that occasion, as has been my custom uniformly through life, to express my respect for opinions which I believed to be honestly entertained, and as long as thus held, my approval of his maintaining them."

"The charge carries such absurdity on its very face, as not to deserve a serious refutation. General Taylor, a southern man, the destiny of himself and his children IDENTIFIED WITH THAT OF THE SOUTH, his immense wealth CONSISTING IN SLAVES, and land which has to be CULTIVATED BY SLAVES TO RENDER IT VALUABLE—he an enemy to the South! he in favor of prostrating southern rights and interests! The very quintessence of absurdity! THEY MIGHT AS WELL SAY THAT GENERAL TAYLOR IS A FREE NEGRO! They would be believed just about as soon, and exhibit fully as much reason and truth in making the charge."—*Marion (Alabama) Review, a Taylor paper.*

"Glorious news. The Union preserved. Repudiation of the Wilmot Proviso by the Whig Convention.—The friends of the South, as well as of the Union, will learn with inexpressible satisfaction that the Whig Convention PROMPTLY MET THE QUESTION OF THE WILMOT PROVISIO, AND REPUDIATED A RESOLUTION ADOPTING THAT DOCTRINE AT ONCE BY AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY. IT WOULD NOT TOUCH THE UNCLEAN THING. How different this generous and patriotic action from the dangerous sectional fanaticism of the Democratic Convention. It will be recollected that a resolution was introduced there by Mr. Yancey to repudiate the proviso, which the Convention refused to do, by a vote of 216 to 36. This vote aimed a death blow to the rights of the South, and its effect has been to cast gloom and dismay in the hearts of those who struggle for the preservation of our glorious Union. Doubts and fears began to overwhelm the public mind, lest even the Whigs, the great conservative party of

[General Taylor's Northern face.]

**'MENTS AND VIEWS EMBRACED IN
'YOUR EDITORIAL!'**

"Could anything be plainer or more explicit than the General's reply to the foregoing extract from the article enclosed to him? Have we not an assurance, from his 'DECIDED APPROVAL of the sentiments and views embraced in' the above extract, that should Congress pass a law extending the ordinance of 1787 over *new territory, or territory acquired from Mexico*, he would not arrest by veto?"

"When the question is narrowed down to a choice between Taylor and Cass upon the question of slavery-extension, it would seem to us that no one can hesitate long in declaring his preferences. There is certainly more to hope by the friends of freedom, from the southern man with liberal principles, than there is from the 'northern man with southern principles.' While General Taylor says, that the 'personal opinions of' the individual who may happen to occupy the 'Executive chair ought not to control the action of Congress upon questions of domestic policy,' nor ought his objections to be interposed when 'questions of constitutional power have been settled by the various departments of the Government, and acquiesced in by the people,' General Cass claims that Congress has no right to legislate upon such questions of 'domestic policy;' and, consequently, planting himself upon the platform of his 'political faith' as laid down by the Baltimore Convention, he would feel bound to veto any measure, should it pass both Houses of Congress, regulating the institution of slavery in any territory that may be acquired."—*Maumee (Ohio) River Times*, July 1, 1848.

"That General Taylor will be found as true a Whig, in the general application of Whig principles as the Whig party could desire or expect, we hold to be established by his Allison letter, and by the "statement" of the Louisiana delegation. And we understand the former also as conveying a pledge that on the one great question of principle which most divides and agitates the country—the extension of slavery over territory now free—he will not seek to interfere with the action of Congress. That is a great point gained. This is an arrangement with which we can be satisfied."—*New York Commercial Advertiser*.

"FREE TERRITORY.—Amongst several questions propounded to Governor Jones, during his speech here, all of which he answered with entire frankness and courtesy, was one asking him if he believed General Taylor was in favor of the extension of slave territory. Governor Jones said in reply, that he did not profess to know General Taylor's opinions upon this, to Southern men, most delicate and painful subject. But he declared it as his firm conviction, from what he knew of the man, and from his public sentiments, that if Congress should pass a law prohibiting the extension of slavery to new territory, General Taylor would not veto it. All we at the North had to do, he said, *would be to elect members of Congress who would pass such a bill, and General Taylor would not interpose the veto power to defeat it!* What more do we want?"—*Advertiser (N. Y.)*.

"In April, 1847, James W. Taylor Esq., editor

[General Taylor's Southern face.]

the Union, ALSO MIGHT BE INFECTED WITH THIS HERESY, and have yielded to the 'progressive' notions of the Locofocoism of the age. Thanks to a kind Providence, which has always watched over our beloved land, a party still exists determined to regard the 'compromises of the Constitution,' &c., and those just and equal rights to all sections, without which our glorious Union cannot exist one moment. THEY HAVE MET THIS INCENDIARY AND DESTRUCTIVE PRINCIPLE AS WHIGS—in the old Whig spirit of enlightened patriotism of the patriotic fathers, and on which the party is founded. THEY DARED TO STAND UP AND MEET THIS FIREBRAND OF UNPRINCIPLED FACTIONISTS boldly (as the Democratic Convention did not)—to meet it as men aware of their duties, like their great leader at Buena Vista, 'asking no favors and shrinking from no responsibilities'—to cast it out of their Convention in the teeth of these infuriated fanatics, and to declare that it was no part, and should be no part, of the Whig creed. This the Democratic Convention would not do. We congratulate the South—we congratulate the southern men, who have never appealed to the fidelity, honor, patriotism, and generosity, of their northern Whig brethren in vain. We congratulate the Union that there is still one great patriotic party which is determined to resist the mad and malign influence, which, if unchecked, would soon leave of its sacred rights but the name."—*Alabama Journal*.

"The subjects of a tariff, bank, and internal improvements, are dwarfed into insignificant dimensions when compared with the great and overshadowing one which an unprincipled northern and northwestern Democracy has dared to throw before the people, [alluding to the free territory principle]. It is of vital consequence that the South should march up to this question. BY BIRTH, EDUCATION, SENTIMENT, FEELING, ASSOCIATION, AND INTEREST, GENERAL TAYLOR IS ONE OF US. The South may well answer the North through him, and redeem the pledge it has made to support no man who is not of us or with us."—*Charleston (S. C.) Courier*.

"One reason why the South should sustain Taylor for the Presidency with great unanimity is, because his nomination affords a final and unlooked-for chance of electing a SOUTHERN MAN to that office. The importance of placing at the head of Government one who, from birth, association, and CONNECTION, is identified with the South, and will fearlessly vindicate her rights and guard her from oppression, cannot fail to strike every mind. In this view, his election becomes a question of vital moment to the SLAVEHOLDING PORTION of the Confederacy."—*New Orleans Bee*.

"A desperate attempt is making, and will be made, to impress on the public mind the belief that General Taylor is not thoroughly with the South on the subject of slavery. Such an attempt will only prove to what results our opponents are driven, in order to injure him in the estimation of his admirers. Why, who is General Taylor? and where does he live? Everybody knows that he is a citizen of Louisiana; an extensive and successful farmer; and owns more slaves than the most of his

[General Taylor's Northern face.]

of the Cincinnati Signal, forwarded to General Taylor, then at the camp near Monterey, an *editorial article* which had appeared in the Signal, laying down a sort of Presidential platform, and asking him for his opinion of the doctrines therein broached. From the editorial in question we take the following extract:

"The only path of safety for those who may hereafter fill the Presidential office, is to *rest in the discharge of the Executive functions*, and let the legislative will of the people find utterance and enactment. The American people are about to assume the responsibility of framing the institutions of the Pacific States. We have no fears for the issue, if the arena of this high debate is the assemblies of the people and their representative halls. *The extension over the continent beyond the Rio Grande of the ordinance of 1787, is an object too high and permanent to be baffled by Presidential vetoes.*"

"In this extract the doctrine is clearly affirmed, that the whole subject of 'slavery extension' is to be left 'to the unbiased action of Congress'—and that the extension of the ordinance of 1787 over new territory is an object of too high importance to be baffled by Presidential vetoes. The whole ground taken by free soil men is here fully covered; and an approval of such sentiments must, in our humble opinion, bring any man within the pale of consistent northern support, as far as this question is concerned. Well, has General Taylor given the above sentiments his approval? We answer, *he has*. The letter of the Signal editor was answered by General Taylor on the 18th of May, 1847. It commences by acknowledging the 'receipt of your letter, with the enclosure of your editorial, extracted from the Signal of the 13th of April'—and then proceeds to say, that his duties will not permit him to answer the letter in the terms demanded by its courtesy—that he did not seek the Presidency, and hoped, when the war was over, to find in the society of his family and particular friends, and in occupations more congenial to his wishes, a more tranquil and satisfactory life than high honor and responsibility could confer. Then comes in the following important paragraph:

"With these remarks, I trust you will pardon me for thus briefly replying to you, *which I do, with a HIGH OPINION and APPROVAL of the SENTIMENTS and VIEWS embraced in your editorial.*"

"Now, we ask, is there not here 'some assurance of perfect impartiality' on the subject in question? Does not General Taylor here *approve* of leaving the settlement of the question to the representatives of the people? What assurance more does the Tribune wish? Ought not the 'assurance' here given, coupled with the assurance in the Allison letter, satisfy every good Whig and free soil Democrat of the eminent consistency and propriety of sustaining and supporting General Taylor, when the only alternative is the election of General Cass?"—*Pittsburg (Pa.) Gazette*.

"General Taylor (says G. Ashmun) was not my preference; but I believe him to be a true Whig, an honest and capable man, *opposed to the acquisition of Texas, with sound and conservative principles, opposed to further enlarging the boundaries of the*

[General Taylor's Southern face.]

slanderers can ever hope honestly to obtain. Is there any fear of such a man on this subject? Born in a *slave State, and still residing in one*; with a large portion of his capital invested in this *species of property*; identified from *interest, inclination, and education*, with the institutions around us; will any sensible man hesitate on this subject to prefer him to his opponent?"—*Columbus (Geo.) Enquirer*.

"THE LAST PLANK GONE.—The opponents of the glorious old ZACHARY TAYLOR, in their reckless attempts to injure him with the people of the South, have asserted that, in his letter to James W. Taylor, editor of the Cincinnati Signal, written in reply to and answering certain interrogatories propounded in a letter from him, he had *PLEGDED HIMSELF* not to veto any bill which might be passed by Congress in which was embodied the Wilmot Proviso! This monstrous assertion, so entirely at war with the character of the man and the tenor of his whole life, could only have been made by political leaders when in the last stage of desperation—when they saw that everlasting political rout and ruin was approaching them as fast as the course of time would permit.

"How dare these unscrupulous maligners say that General Taylor—a man of such pure, noble, and unsullied character—would prove a *TRAITOR* to those among whom he was born and raised?—that he would *BETRAY* the southern people on this vital question?—that he would prove false to his own interests, and scornfully turn his back upon old associations? What ground have they for putting forth such vile and unfounded statements? In the course of a long life, has General Taylor ever displayed any disposition to betray his country? Does he bear the marks of a traitor? No! Let his vilest traducers point to a single act of his life that smacks of treason! On the contrary, for forty years he has stood by his country, and on many desperately contested battle-fields his strong arm, stout heart, clear and cool head, indomitable bravery and iron will, have rolled back the lurid tide of battle, and covered himself and his country's flag with imperishable renown. Why should *such a man*—so pure, so exalted, so patriotic, so devoted to his country, who has consecrated a long life to his country's service, who has shed immortal glory upon her arms, and who is so honest, so magnanimous, so generous, so noble in all the relations of life—be slandered in this sort of style? True it is that we have not yet met with any Democratic editor who dare openly charge General Taylor with *ABOLITIONISM*; yet such a game has been for two or three months and is now going on all over the South by implication and insinuation! They insinuate slyly what they dare not charge openly. This is worse, meaner and more detestable, than if the charge was made boldly. There would then be some *manliness* about the matter.

"If the people of the South demand stronger evidence of a man's soundness on the slavery question than the fact that he is a southerner by birth, habits, and associations; that he has always been identified with the South, and that all the property he has in the world is invested in a cotton plantation—it is not likely that they will ever get it. They do not deserve more."—*Mississippi Courier*.

[General Taylor's Northern face.]

Union; and, although he lives in the latitude where slavery is tolerated, yet I do not believe that he desires or approves its extension. His declared sentiments are a guarantee that he will never, in the slightest manner, interfere with the action of Congress when it shall forbid the existence of slavery in our newly-acquired territories. Let the representatives of the people and of the States be left free to act upon that question, uncontrolled by Executive influence and Executive veto, and we are safe. I need not, I am confident, give to you any new assurance that, whenever the question, in any form, shall be presented during my official term, the rights of humanity shall find in me an unyielding advocate. The issue will soon come; it is to be met in the halls of Congress; and then it is to be decided, in all probability, during the continuance of Mr. Polk's administration. Let the people of the free States look to their representatives!"—*Letter of Hon. George Ashmun, Whig member of Congress from Massachusetts, to his constituents.*

"WASHINGTON, March 1, 1848.

"GENTLEMEN: Since writing my letter of yesterday, I have referred to the 'Signal correspondence,' and find it, on the point herein referred to, to be as follows:

"The editor of the Signal says: 'The extension over the continent beyond the Rio Grande of the ordinance of 1787, is an object too high and permanent to be baffled by Presidential vetoes. All that we ask of the incumbent of the highest office, under the Constitution, is to hold his hand, to bow to the will of the people, as promulgated in legislative forms, and restrain the Executive action in its appropriate channels.' General Taylor, in reply, expresses his 'high opinion and approval of the sentiments and views embraced in your (his) editorials.'

"Yours, &c.,

A. STEWART."

The above letter is from that rabid and unscrupulous high-tariff Whig, Andrew Stewart, member of Congress from Pennsylvania, and was addressed to the editors of the *National Intelligencer*, in which paper it first appeared.

"General Taylor is, as we believe, right on every question, except possibly the slavery question, and even on that his views practically are safe even for us. He is a Whig of the CLAY SCHOOL, and, if elected, will undoubtedly surround himself with a good Whig Cabinet, and his administration will be conducted on the genuine Whig platform. He has never been ashamed to ask and follow counsel in military affairs, where he has felt most at home, and in politics, respecting which he does not profess to have so thorough a knowledge as our experienced statesmen, he will probably be governed, to a great extent, by the opinion of those whom he may select for his counsellors."—*Springfield (Massachusetts) Gazette.*

"Because the southern States have demanded, and insisted upon having, as a *sine qua non*, a candidate for the Presidency pledged to the extension of slavery, the Barnburners have naturally and properly enough separated from their southern colleagues upon this single question of slavery; but as our southern colleagues have demanded no such pledges from our candidate, and rather, on the con-

trary, have given us a man pledged not to veto the acts of Congress, (EVEN IF IT BE ANOTHER ORDINANCE LIKE THAT WHICH PERPETUATED FREEDOM IN THE NORTHWESTERN TERRITORY,) no such separation is necessary for us, and surely no coalition with Barnburners, with whom, if we were to coalesce, the result would be the election of General Cass, with the principle of the extension of slavery, and the approval by the people of all the maladministration of Mr. Polk."

"But why, just now, all this sensation in the matter of slavery, when by treaty, California and New Mexico are 'annexed?' The legislation respecting their future government is all in the hands of Congress, whose acts on all constitutional questions, settled by precedent, General Taylor pledges himself to approve. The Nathan Dane ordinance, restricting slavery from obtaining a foothold in the Northwest Territory, is a precedent General Taylor, if disposed, could not get over, were Congress to pass an act restricting slavery from California and New Mexico. Beyond all question, when Congress passes such an act, he will approve it."—*New York Express.*

"Let them ponder these things well. Let them learn—as they will learn, if they will not be deaf and blind to the truth—that General Taylor is a Whig in principle, is in favor of peace, opposed to all war, believes slavery to be a curse to the country, and desires its extermination, and is opposed to the further extension of slave territory. When they shall learn these things, we believe that no man who truly loves the Whig party, and who believes its success essential to our safety and prosperity, can for a moment hesitate to believe his duty calls him to give him his ardent and zealous support."—*Boston Atlas.*

And the *Atlas* further supports its position by publishing the following:

"Colonel Johnson, of Upper Piqua, Ohio, who was selected by the Whigs of Miami, as their delegate to the Convention—a staunch, undoubted Whig—who has in a long life devoted to the cause, done it great service—a delegate to Harrisburg in 1839, and to Baltimore in 1844, and who has known General Taylor long and intimately, written a letter before us, that he is all that we could desire upon this very point. He writes that he has heard him declare, with much force, that he regarded slavery as a great evil to the country, and expressed a strong hope that the time might arrive when we could get rid of it altogether; and Colonel Johnson declares his firmest conviction, that General Taylor 'is the last man to countenance its being extended to any new territory that may be brought into the Union.' Colonel Johnson speaks, be it remembered, from his own personal knowledge, and after an acquaintance of over thirty years."

Mr. Weed, the editor of the *Albany Evening Journal*, says: "That he knows, from the most unquestionable authority, that General Taylor is decidedly and unequivocally opposed to any act or movement of Government in favor of the extension of slavery."

"CAN FREE TERRITORY MEN SUPPORT TAYLOR?"—This question is honestly asked by many. It only requires us to take facts as they exist, to de-

cide upon it with satisfaction. If the cause of free territory stands any better chance by electing General Taylor than by electing Lewis Cass to the Presidency, it is of course our duty (we mean the friends of free territory) to give him our support. What are he facts? We take the issue as it is presented between Cass and Taylor, as the election of a third candidate is out of the question. How, then, does Taylor stand?

"If there is any reliance to be placed in his words, he will not interfere with the legislation of Congress upon the question of slavery extension. He leaves this matter with the people. Can we ask more of any man who may fill the Presidential chair? We may also refer to his reply to the 'Signal' letter, in which he gives his 'decided approval of the views and sentiments' contained therein, which were strongly in favor of free territory."—*Massillon (Ohio) Telegraph*.

The following is from the New Hampshire Statesman, a violent Taylor Whig paper:

"DEFEAT OF THE 'COMPROMISE' BILL.—In another column will be found a somewhat full account of the proceedings in both branches of Congress upon the compromise bill; from which it will be seen that every Whig from the free States who was in the House of Representatives when it was acted upon in that branch, voted to lay it upon the table—that is, voted to kill the bill. This summary and unanimous action on the part of the Whigs has shockingly disappointed these political croakers—fault-finding abolitionists and bolting Whigs—who, doubtless, would have preferred they should act otherwise. Never was the wind more completely taken out of the sails of these croakers than upon this occasion. Since the nomination of General Taylor by the Whig National Convention, they have daily charged the Whigs with being false to their free-soil professions—with deserting the doctrine laid down in the ordinance of 1787—of being recreant to liberty, and doomed to everlasting disgrace! How utterly unjust these assertions are, is proved by the decisive action of the Whigs, when the time for action came.

"And the motion to lay the bill upon the table came from a southern Whig, too—Mr. Stephens, of Georgia—upon whom is poured, in copious measure, the indignation of the organ of Mr. Polk.

Mr. Stephens was assailed in the House by the harpies of the Administration, who created a prodigious uproar when he moved that the bill be laid upon the table. But, although an invalid, he is of as unyielding materials as any man in Congress, and goes ahead in his purposes, even if Mr. Polk and his entire army of satellites lie in his path. Eight southern Taylor Whigs voted to put the bill upon the table—thus performing a better service for free soil than the whole troop of political malcontents in the North seem in a way to accomplish, so long as in their present position."

"We have said expressly, over and over again, that the time was coming, and at no distant day, when the whole North would plant herself on the ground 'no slavery,' and stand to it to a man. We do not, however, at present, see that matters are ripe for this. When they are, our correspondent may count on our support. At present, we feel that the great Whig party are certain to come into power, with General Taylor at their head; and we have all confidence, that the moment Congress shall pass a law to circumscribe the 'unmitigated curse' within the limits of the Constitution, as interpreted by Daniel Webster and other of our soundest northern men, that moment such a bill will receive Taylor's signature. Convince us that it will not, and we will pull down his name from our paper.

"What, we say again, then, does our friend, 'A Freeman,' want, that we cannot give him? Does he want any stronger opposition to slavery? But where will he find it, asserted over and over again, than in our columns long before the Buffalo Convention? And we say now, that we are ready for any and all movements, just and proper, to confine the evil within limits dictated by right. But we think there is a power already working for this end, and a spirit making for this end, and that power and that spirit are the body and spirit of the Whig party. This party has ever been for justice and truth; it is for that now; and the instant the time comes to cut the head from the monster, the whigs will do it. Does 'A Freeman' want more?

"Or is it, after all, that he does not believe that, with General Taylor, we can do this? and does he think we are deceived in General Taylor?"—*New Haven Journal*.

It appears, from the preceding extracts, that the northern Whigs are endeavoring to persuade their followers to believe that General Taylor *will not veto* the Wilmot Proviso, on the ground that he has assented to the doctrines of the article published in the Cincinnati Signal, and that he has, in his letter to Captain Allison, promised not to exercise the veto power.

On the other hand, his partisans at the South allege that *he will veto* the Wilmot Proviso, assigning as the reason that he lives in a slave State, and that his interests are identified with the slave interest. And he has himself, in his letter to the Tuscaloosa Monitor, disclaimed any intention to endorse the article in the Signal.

Now, what will he do? Will he disappoint and deceive the North or the South? If elected President, he must do one or the other. Which will he do?

Is not General Taylor's course in reference to the Wilmot Proviso, in the event of his election to the Presidency, extremely uncertain? The people of the South may expect, from the fact that he lives in a slave State, and is himself a slaveholder, that he will be devoted to their interests, and consequently will be opposed to, and will

prevent by his veto the application of the Wilmot Proviso to the new territory acquired from Mexico. But can they rely upon a fact of that kind? For the sake of attaining the Presidency, the summit of human ambition, would he not agree to sacrifice his interests as a slaveholder? Is not his conduct with regard to the Wilmot Proviso contradictory? Did he not, in substance, *approve* of it in his Signal letter? And did he not, in his letter to the Tuscaloosa Monitor, *deny* that he had thus approved it? What is his opinion upon that important question? IS GENERAL TAYLOR FOR OR AGAINST THE WILMOT PROVISIO? These questions are worthy of the serious consideration of southern men.

And have the people of the free States any certain pledge from General Taylor that he will carry out their views with regard to the Wilmot Proviso? His Allison letter does not absolutely pledge him against the use of the veto. Will he not think that the Wilmot Proviso is one of the cases in which it would be proper to use the veto? And will not *his interest as a slaveholder, and his connection with slaveholders*, induce him to use the veto in that particular instance?

In short, have the people of the free or slave States any positive assurance of what General Taylor will do with regard to this great question? His partisans of the South say he will veto the Wilmot Proviso, and his partisans of the North are equally confident that he will not.

Now, one or the other MUST BE DECEIVED. Who are to be deceived, you of the North, or you of the South? Is any man worthy of the suffrages of the American people for the great and exalted office of the Presidency, who stands in this equivocal position in regard to a question of domestic policy, the agitation of which may shake this Union to its foundations?

WASHINGTON, *August*, 1848.





